4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

842 woman, who was sometimes a younger sister or a junior father's
595 daughter. This woman then became a linked co-wife (*nshanzi*)[7] subordinate to her barren sister. If the linked wife was also barren then the man could demand another one. The barren woman was never sent back to her own relatives but continued to live with her husband. Children of the linked wife were allocated to her and she
587 became responsible for their upbringing. Similarly if a wife died before she had borne a child a linked co-wife replaced her.

842 If the man was sterile he used to arrange for a friend to sleep secretly with his wife so that she should conceive. The friend was
837 rewarded with a beast after a child had been born but the reason for making the reward was kept secret. If a seedraiser was caught he was killed for committing adultery, despite the fact of his having been called in by the husband.[8]

837 As well as being fertile, wives were expected to be chaste. On this point the evidence is clear. Wiese states that adulterers were
684 always killed;[9] all subsequent writers have agreed with him. I was told that if the woman's husband was not an important person he was sometimes placated with a present of cattle. If the husband persisted in referring the matter to the chief the senior lieutenants of the chief might intercede on his behalf, if this was the man's first offence. Otherwise the man and the woman were both killed by one of the senior lieutenants.

567 The approved mode of behaviour for women was chastity before
[831] marriage, submission in the choice of husband, and fertility and fidelity in marriage. These obligations were clear-cut and definite and of universal applicability. The obligations of affines towards
602 one another were not so straightforward, and their fulfilment was a process marked by ritual transfers of cattle and carefully prescribed modes of behaviour. In particular the relationship of a man to his
606 wife's mother was altered progressively from one of strict avoidance to openly expressed friendliness. The stages in the process represented the gradual acceptance of the man into the family of his wife's parents as a son-in-law, the father of their daughter's children.

586 Marriage was entered into without compulsion on either side, but
[584] the right to terminate it was held in the man's group alone. A woman could not on any ground secure a divorce. All my informants agreed on this point. A man could divorce his wife at any time by sending her back to her own kinsfolk, giving her a small present as an indication that he had divorced her. If he had offered bridewealth for her, her kinsfolk were under an obligation to provide him with a

[7] Read, in her 'Moral code', p. 18 translates this word (*nhlanzi*) as 'substitute'. Lancaster, 'Tentative chronology', p. 79, gives the word as *nshlanze*. Kuper, *An African Aristocracy*, p. 39 translates the Swazi word *inhlanti* as 'subordinate co-wife'. I have chosen the translation 'linked co-wife' as there are other kinds of subordinate co-wife who are not *nshanzi*, and some *nshanzi* are not substitutes.

[8] See below, p. 34.

[9] Wiese, op. cit. 'Expedicao . . .', p. 471, and 'Geschichte . . .', pp. 189-90.

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

necessary to take formal action to restore harmony. Husband and wife still remain separate persons, separated socially by their distinct roles. Yet they are bound together by economic ties, by symbolic procedures, and by mystical connexion.

The sexual rights and obligations of husband and wife in each other are not symmetrical. A man has exclusive sexual rights over his wife, but a woman cannot gain exclusive sexual rights over her husband. Her husband can take other wives, or commit adultery, and she has no ground in law for complaint unless at the same time he neglects her. The most she can do is to make life so unpleasant for him that rather than face her anger he decides to sleep with her alone. Mystical procedures are available to both man and wife, and while a husband may use medicines to safeguard that which is his by right, a wife uses medicines to augment her other sanctions, such as the threat of not cooking food for her husband or of running away to her relatives. There is one class of medicines [6] which a man can administer to his wife by cicatrization which it is believed will cause any lover of the woman to die. Another magical procedure is stated to prevent the lover from withdrawing after coitus, so that the adulterous pair will have to reveal themselves to their neighbours in order to gain medical assistance. These medicines are said to be favoured by men going off to Southern Rhodesia without their wives. It is difficult to tell to what extent they are actually administered, but the belief in their efficacy is wide-spread, and people would comment that so-and-so who was ill had become so because he had slept with a woman doctored in this way, and that the scars on such-and-such a woman were made when her husband had given her this sort of medicine. On the other hand a woman may use medicine [7] to prevent her husband from copulating with anyone else, and there are other medicines which act as love charms or which encourage the husband to stay at home at night.[8] The beliefs about difficult labour and *mdulo* [9] also have a stabilizing effect in that the man may fear for the fate of his child and for that reason be faithful to his wife while she is pregnant. On the other hand it is believed that a rejected lover can give medicine [10] to a woman who resists his approaches, so that she will die or have difficulties in childbirth. The only way for a woman to avoid this hazard is to live demurely and not to excite the attention of other men.

If a woman believes that her husband is committing adultery with

[6] Known as *lukankho*. There are at least four varieties of this, associated with different maladies all of which are fatal to the adulterer. Cf. *lukanko* in Colson, *Marriage among the Plateau Tonga* (Rhodes-Livingstone Papers—forthcoming).

[7] *Ndamanga*. See below, p. 56.

[8] E.g., medicine made from the house lizard (*mbololiko*) and the domesticated cat, because these animals are always in the house and do not wander about.

[9] See below, p. 46.

[10] *Kalamatila*, from the name of the species of frog from which it is made.

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

believes that her husband is committing adultery with another woman she endeavours to find out who the woman is. She usually refuses to speak to her when they meet, and if they are forced to come into contact, as at a beer party, there is likely to be a fight between them. A parturient woman may ask her midwife to pretend that there are difficulties in labour so that her husband can be called upon to confess his adultery and name his mistress.

The sexual aspect of marriage influences the training and experiences of children. The explanation given for moving children from their parents' hut to a dormitory at the age of six or seven is that by then children are 'wise enough' and will talk to their playmates about their parents' sexual activities in the hut. Girls aged five years or so start to imitate the dances of their elders and to join in the dance competitions when girls come from other villages. Many of the songs sung at these dances are concerned with various aspects of sexual relations. At age ten, or sometimes earlier they also begin to practice the most important of the women's erotic dances, *cimwangalala*,[11] which is performed only indoors. At a girl's first menstruation she is secluded for from a few days up to a month, and is tested by women who have borne children to see that she can dance *cimwangalala* and other erotic dances effectively, that she knows the formalities of copulation, and how to behave when she menstruates. Even where the girl is secluded for the full month, and her training is accompanied by a great deal of symbolism and ceremonial, there is little reference to her potential fertility.

There is no formal instruction in sexual matters for boys, and there are no erotic dances for them. They learn their sexlore from their older companions in the bush or in the dormitory. The only specific aspect of sexual maturation that appears to receive emphasis is the growth of large testicles, and boys brew themselves medicines to expedite this.

Both fertility and sexual satisfaction can be facilitated by the use of medicines. There is a well-known medicine for the cure of barrenness, and there are many kinds of aphrodisiacs.[12] A girl learns the use of aphrodisiacs from other women in the village, and she is formally taught sexual behaviour by her puberty instructress.[13] The old woman who is in charge of her puberty seclusion, who is sometimes the girl's grandmother, supervises the sexual behaviour of the girl for the first few years of her married life. If, as a bride, she succeeds in forcing her husband to give her a present before she will lie with him, the present must be handed over to the puberty instructress the next morning. Later she may demonstrate her erotic proficiency by dancing[14] in the hut before her husband and her instructress.

[11] Meaning, in Nsenga, 'the thing of you just sleeping' (i.e. copulating).
[12] Such as *miototo*, a root, and *kajelejele*, a plant.
[13] *Mphungu*.
[14] The dance is called *cikapa*. Cf. Nyanja *kapakapa*, swinging backwards and forwards.

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

842 wherever they decide to settle. Children are still valuable. A barren woman is pitied, and a man's impotence is whispered about behind his back. Men and women seek fertility, and a man tries to conceal his impotence. A woman who does not want to bear children is regarded as irresponsible.

We have seen that the traditional solution for barrenness was to introduce a linked co-wife, but this is now rarely done. A woman can either look for medicines[15] to make her fertile, or, if she is unsuccessful, she may beg children from a fertile sister. These children will stay with her while they are young, but they are not thought of or talked about as being her own children.

No clear distinction is drawn between impotence and sterility, and men who are said to be impotent are also known to commit adultery. A sterile husband does not find favour with his wife or with her relatives, who want her to have children to care for her when she grows old. If medicines fail to cure a man's sterility, and it is thought that the lack of children is due to him and not to his wife, then he may call in an acquaintance to sleep with his wife so that [837] she may conceive. For this task, it is said that a man will choose a person whose discretion he can trust, but one on the fringe of his acquaintance who will not feel disposed to gossip maliciously about the incident afterwards. Thus it is said that a man would never ask his brother to do this. If the woman bears a child then at some [431] later date the husband gives a goat to the progenitor, hoping that people will not connect the present with the birth of the child.

Sterility is a shameful thing and men do not easily admit to it. [128] My information on the procedure followed in specific instances is based only on village gossip and not on admissions by the men and women concerned. Although it is agreed that a sterile man may feel 842 forced to call in a seed-raiser the whole matter must remain secret. 837 There must be no loophole by which adultery might be condoned. In the words of an informant,

> A man may be impotent and may ask someone to copulate with his wife so that she may have children. This man coming to copulate with his wife comes in secret as it is considered a disgraceful thing among the people of the family and the rest of the village if they know, yet the people in the village know very well sometimes. In the old days the same thing happened, but if a man coming to sleep with the woman came in an open way, and everyone knew of his sleeping with the wife of an impotent man, he was to be killed by the chief, even though the impotent man asked him to do this work for him. The person coming to do this work of copulating with this woman was to be paid a cow or a goat for the work that he did. In these days it happens.

The sterile husband takes the risk that his friend will continue sleeping with the woman after she has conceived. I have recorded

[15] Called *cisawa*. The first child born after the successful administration of this medicine is sometimes called Cisawa.

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

one instance where the woman ran off with the man called in by her sterile husband.

4. The legal relationship

Emphasis on sexual partnership is characteristic of the beginning of marriage. Young people are 'foolish', dance all night long and sleep late in the morning. With the arrival of children, man and wife emerge from the tutelage of their elders and non-sexual aspects of their marriage relationship gain in importance. Even then the importance of sexual satisfaction is not forgotten. People say openly of a woman who obstructs her husband when he seeks a second wife, 'She is too fond of his penis', and old widows explain their failure to remarry by saying 'Our joints are too stiff to copulate'.

Nevertheless at all times there is a great deal more in Ngoni marriage than mere sexual partnership. The obligations and duties of husband and wife towards each other and each other's kin are determined by the marriage payments and ratified by the ceremonies of marriage. These obligations persist despite the fluctuations of sexual attraction. We have seen that in 'the time of peace' the two principal transfers were 'snuff-box' and bridewealth. Today the position is different and the rights transferred by the marriage payments are different. For simplicity we may discuss the latter payment first. Bridewealth is still recognized but, as can be seen from Table V, is paid in only about four per cent of all marriages. It consists of a payment of one or more beasts or £6 made by the man to his wife's father.[16] If only one cow is offered and it dies before calving, it must be replaced. Some indication of the range of variation in amounts paid is given by Table VI.

This sample of only twelve payments is very small, but there is some indication that the amount paid has decreased in recent years. This is of interest in view of the general rise in the standard of wealth and in the amount offered as legalization payment.

By the payment of bridewealth a man ensures that all the children of his wife, by whatever genitor, shall, or rather ought to, belong to his group of relatives and live in his village when they grow up. The payment is made only after several children have been born. In the old days, if this payment was made, the children were legitimate and lived in their father's segment, and if it was not paid they could be claimed by their mother's father's segment. In these days there is no such hard and fast rule. Everyone has in effect a large choice of places where he can live, and the payment or non-payment of bridewealth for his mother is only one factor operating with many others in influencing his decisions. It is not surprising that so few people pay bridewealth.

[16] For comparative figures for the Ngoni of Southern Nyasaland, see Read, 'Native standards of living and African cultural change', *Africa* xi (1938), 3, supplement, p. 33.

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

uniting a married couple are weak as compared with say, the Bemba.[1] The bride is anointed with gall, and carries the gall bladder in her hair back to her own village as a sign that she has been through the marriage ceremony and has been instructed in her wifely duties by her husband's kinsfolk and neighbours. But the husband himself is usually not there, 'that day is not his work', and I once saw a man quietly drinking on one side of the village while his bride was being anointed on the other. In general it is not until much later that husband and wife appear together in ceremonial situations. The personal association of husband and wife begins in darkness and the privacy of the hut. Later the wife will have validated her status as a married woman, and can appear as such in public alongside her husband without embarrassment.

It is when a woman is pregnant that her husband's actions are most liable to affect her mystically. In general a man may commit adultery and his wife has no case against him; but when she is pregnant he is under a moral obligation to sleep only with her and, if he is a polygynist, with his other wives. His adultery endangers her life, for it is believed that her labour will be difficult and she or the child may die. The pregnant woman is in mortal danger if she herself commits adultery and there is a common obligation of fidelity on both man and wife throughout pregnancy, accompanied in the eyes of some people by a positive obligation to copulate together so that the foetus may grow strong in the womb. When labour proves difficult, the midwife calls on the husband to confess the adulteries he committed while his wife was pregnant so that the child can be born. She may also tell the woman to confess.[2] If the child is born dead, the woman's relatives begin to suspect that the man confessed only some of his adulteries and concealed others, thereby killing the child. We have already noted that if the woman dies the husband must offer a beast to her kinsfolk (pp. 39f).

From the birth of the child until its umbilical cord has fallen off and it has been doctored, the husband should not sleep with anyone at all, not even with his other wives. He can resume sexual relations with them after the cord has fallen but he does not sleep with the mother of the child until about three months after the birth, when he has ritual intercourse with her and the child is again doctored. While the infant is sleeping the husband has *coitus interruptus* with its mother and allows his semen to fall on her thighs. She smears the semen over her thighs and then takes up the child and gives it to her husband, who rests it on his hips. After a moment he hands the infant back to his wife who also rests it on her hips. The child is then put back to sleep on the mat beside the couple. This ritual intercourse is obligatory in that if it is omitted it is believed the child

[1] Cf. Richards, op. cit., p. 113.
[2] Cf. Rattray, op. cit., p. 105, and H. F. Barnes, 'The birth of a Ngoni child' *Man*, xlix (1949), p. 89.

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

Where a woman has already troubled her relatives by her adultery, they may try to avoid further expense by refusing the legalization payment offered for her.

Case History 7

Rachel had had two husbands and had been divorced from them both. She had also lived with a White for some years. In 1946 she began to live with Esau, who already had three wives. In 1948 Esau approached an important man in Rachel's village and asked him to act as intermediary as he wished to offer the legalization payment to Rachel's brother. This man refused to do so, and in the end Esau approached his brother-in-law himself. The brother-in-law said that he had known his sister Rachel a long time and she was just a prostitute. He would not take the money for her. Esau said he would speak to his wife and ask her to change her character. Eventually the brother-in-law agreed to accept the thirty shillings offered.

Although the kinsfolk of the man or woman can exercise social pressure to prevent a marriage it is difficult for them to force a girl to marry against her will, and impossible in the case of a man. We have noted that in the old days, according to informants, people married whom they were told and did not refuse. Even if this was ever true, it is true no longer. A man can move off to the towns in the face of pressure and a woman can always run away to other relatives if her parents are insistent on an unwanted marriage. The Administration does not allow girls to be married against their will, but I do not know of any recent instance in which it has intervened on this issue. A girl's relatives can show their anger by abusing her and by scaring off her own preferred mate, but they cannot detain her against her will and they cannot force her to go through the ceremonies of marriage. They cannot appeal to the court to punish the girl for disobedience.

In some instances pressure is put on a man by a woman's kin to force him into marrying her. If a woman bears a pre-marital child, and it is known that the genitor is an important man or chief, her kinsfolk begin to adopt towards the genitor's family the patterns of respect and avoidance which would be appropriate if he were their affine. This procedure may be adopted although it is plain to people in general that the genitor has no intention of marrying the woman. If it is unsuccessful in forcing the hand of the genitor, the formal attitudes of the woman's kinsfolk come to be generally ridiculed and they abandon the pretence.

So far we have considered only the attitude of kinsfolk towards a proposed marriage and the legalization payment associated with it. The factors influencing the acceptance or refusal of bridewealth are different. Bridewealth, when offered, is not often refused. Table V shows that in our sample this happened in only one out of 360 marriages. We must remember that bridewealth is paid only in about four per cent of all marriages, and that a man is usually on good terms with his affines and has lived in peace for many years with his wife before he offers it. A youngish man may seek the

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

593 167 Some men when they decide to return home from work in the normal course of events do not let their relatives know that they will be arriving. There are a variety of reasons for this, one being that the mystical hazards of the journey home are increased if a man's enemies know that it is taking place. There is also sometimes the desire to check on the fidelity of a wife. A chief returning from the railway line in 1947 reached Fort Jameson and sent on ahead a man to tell the people their chief had returned. A councillor who was with him remarked 'What sort of chief is this who gives his queens time to get back to their own houses? We ought to arrive suddenly and catch them all with their lovers.'

593 167 602 The woman's kin also wish to avoid trouble in her marriage and do what they can to prevent her committing adultery if they think that her husband is still treating her well. They talk to her about her obligations to her absent husband and if they think she cannot be trusted, one of them, perhaps the woman's mother, may sleep in the hut with her to see that she does not entertain lovers there. They may warn her that if she is taken to court for adultery they will not support her.

Thus we see that there is social prescription not only of the ways in which a man and his affines should behave towards each other, but also of the ways in which his affines should behave when the man is away. Similarly a woman and her affines interact in the light of their relationship not only when her husband is present but also when he has been absent for years. As a husband can exceed his rights over his wife, so can an affine go beyond what is tolerated while trying to safeguard the interests of an absent husband. The perseverence of some brothers of absent husbands, and the limitations imposed on their actions by public opinion, are recalled by a girls' song current in 1949.

[533] **I am wanting to go and sleep,**
What stops me is something in the loins,
I go to the water, and the one who keeps on following comes,
He has exceeded his sibling-in-law-ship,[10]
He has dragged Eleni from the reeds.

[607] Eleni is supposed to be the wife of a labour migrant. Her husband's brother follows her to the stream, where she has gone ostensibly to draw water, as he thinks that she is really going to meet a lover. She hides in the reeds and he drags her out. Such active intervention is inappropriate and dangerous for if there is a struggle the woman is likely to claim that the man was trying to rape her. The astute brother-in-law would have waited his time until he could catch her red-handed with her lover in a village.

167 839 It is never legitimate for a woman whose husband is a labour migrant to have intercourse with another man. People regret that

[193] [10] *Ulamu*, the abstract noun formed from *mulamu*, sibling-in-law.

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

People regret that
a faithful woman whose husband stays away many years does not bear children, but they do not condone infidelity. The prolonged absence of men which leads to this unsatisfactory situation is seen as part of the disruption of the old order by the coming of the Whites. It is they who are responsible, both for the lack of children in marriages where the woman is faithful and for the occurrence of adultery in marriages where she is not. The virtue of bearing children and the virtue of fidelity are values in conflict and the Ngoni see only one solution, the ending of labour migration. This conflict appears with particular force when a man goes away leaving his wife pregnant. This action is in itself hazardous, for the man will not be there at the time of birth to confess his adultery, yet men do go away knowing their wives are pregnant. If a live child is born, it must be protected by the rite of 'taking up the child'.[19] If this is neglected the child may die, and it is in the interests therefore of the man's relatives as well as the woman's that it should be performed. The only consistent line of action is to ensure that the medicines which can be used as a substitute for the rite are available to the woman. These medicines are expensive, and relatives may be reluctant to find the money for them, particularly as the whole procedure is under the ban of the missions. The only other solution is for the woman to take a lover with whom she performs the rite. If they are caught, the excuse that they were sleeping together merely for 'taking up the child' is not accepted. Here the same conflict and the same attitude are seen as when a woman has an impotent husband.[20] To achieve a desirable end the woman must commit adultery; but woe betide her if she is caught in the act.

There is an important difference between the way in which the kinsfolk act at the level of village discussion and their behaviour later when matters are referred to the court. In the village they are fairly free to act without reference to the absent husband. They can give advice and can attempt to enforce mutually agreed damage payments of chicken, acting in the light of their opinion of what is in their own interest and in the general interest of their kinsman. They cannot deal in this way with divorce or with large damages for adultery. These matters must be referred to the court and here much more deliberate attention is paid to the wishes of the absent man. If a case of adultery is brought by the man's kin, the court enquires about the wishes of the husband in the matter. The husband's kin must produce a letter from him authorizing them to proceed against his wife and he must say in the letter whether he wishes to divorce her or merely to claim damages for adultery. The case is usually adjourned for three to six months while this is done. A woman who pleads for divorce on the ground of her husband's desertion is similarly told to write to him informing him

[19] See above, pp. 45f.
[20] See above, p. 34.

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni
Maravi FR4

developed as the men's. It is to be expected, therefore, that there would be greater Cewa and Nsenga influence in those affairs controlled by women than in political and military matters, which were organized by men. This is borne out by linguistic evidence, for while many of the words, but not all, pertaining to affairs of state are of Ngoni origin, the words now used in the seclusion of girls are drawn from Cewa and Nsenga.

We find therefore that it is the bearing of children before marriage and to a lesser extent pre-marital impregnation which are disapproved of rather than pre-marital copulation. The real contrast in attitude is between pre-marital copulation and adultery. We have seen that in the old days adulterers were killed by order of the chief. The punishment of adultery was a process involving headmen, lieutenants and other important men. The abhorrence of adultery remains despite its great frequency and the prohibition on killing adulterers. An adulterer is a thief, stealing the rights of another man and endangering his marriage. Even when the wife of a labour migrant bears a child and it is in danger of *mdulo* until it can be 'taken up' (p. 87) she cannot openly call in a man with whom to perform this rite. She must either get a man to come in secret or obtain expensive medicines which remove the danger. In like manner, if her husband is impotent, there must be no public recognition of any extra-marital intercourse, for impotence is shameful and not to be admitted and cannot justify the intervention of another man. It is thought regrettable that a woman should grow old without bearing daughters to help her pound maize and sons to clothe her in her old age. Yet when medicines have been of no avail and her husband calls in a seed-raiser he must come in secret and later be rewarded covertly. Similarly the sexual activities of children must be conducted discreetly. Here, however, a much more tolerant attitude is taken and there is not the same need for secrecy. There is no chaperoning of unmarried girls but only of married women whose husbands are away. There is no inspection of girls at marriage, and one informant said that if after puberty a girl has no lover with whom she can sleep, her grandmother will call in a young man to copulate with the girl in the grandmother's house to see if she is proficient, and that for this he would be rewarded by the grandmother. From one point of view we may say that there is pre-marital freedom, with discretion, and marital restriction of sexual activity. Pre-marital intercourse does, however, have a moral connotation, and it is held that the girl who sleeps too easily with all comers before marriage will continue thus after she is married. The need for discretion in premarital affairs is in some part due to the activities of the missions, working at the village level through deacons, elders and women helpers. Yet in general no action is taken by the local Christian group in the village unless the pre-marital sexual activities of its members are conducted in such a way that it is no longer possible to ignore them.

Sexual intercourse is the critical activity of marriage. Within

6:Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1900) 1907 FR5 Ngoni FR5

will finish the ceremony [that the relish may be given out]. Should the girl, before she came to maturity, not have been betrothed to any man, the matrons tell her she must go to some lover; this is known as "chigango." In the evening she takes her cooking pot and relish and goes to the quarters of the young unmarried men, who for the night sleep somewhere else. In the morning the girl goes back to the *Kuka* hut.

881 585 [837]

V

THE BIRTH OF A CHILD

I. When a woman becomes pregnant, the matrons of the village tell the husband "he must now no longer cohabit with her." If the man have another wife he goes off to her house. When the time draws near for the woman's accouchement, she bids her husband leave her. He goes to one of the village matrons and tells her, "My wife is very ill." Then old women go to the hut and begin to take out all the cooking utensils and household goods. Should the woman have difficulty in giving birth the old women bid her confess, saying, "Speak, child, lest you die; who committed adultery with you?" Should she have been faithless she confesses, saying, "I sinned with so and so." The matrons hide such confessions. When she is safely delivered they bathe the infant, then one old woman goes off to tell the husband, "Your wife is well." Perhaps the woman has given birth to a male child, then she tells him, "You have seen a knobkerry."

843 593

844 [845]

6:Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1900) 1907 FR5 Ngoni FR5

III. Then they spread a mat and go and bring her husband, and set them down on the mat side by side and begin to shave his head. As the hair falls the people throw down beads. Then they take a stick and lay it across the legs of the man and woman so that each may know it is that stick that will beat them [if they do wrong]. When they have finished shaving the man, they bring oil and rub the bodies of the man and woman. When it is dark the old women escort the girl to her husband's hut. The *ndiwo* relish is cooking on the fire. During the night the woman rises and puts some salt in the pot. Next morning, before dawn, before the villagers have opened their doors, the woman goes off, and gives some of the relish to her mother, and to the old woman who was mistress of the ceremony. This relish she just sets down at the door, and when they open they find it, and rub it on their feet and under their arm-pits; little children just eat it. If she have any relations who are at a distance, they sharpen a little piece of bamboo and stick the relish on the end (and put it aside) that the distant one, when he returns, shall also rub his feet with it. Perhaps the absent one, should he not have heard that these events have happened when he comes to the village, and should say, "Give me water that I may drink," they refuse him, but with a purpose, even though the water is there, and go and bring the relish that first he may rub some on his feet. It may be the woman discovers that her husband is impotent, then she just stays in her hut and does not come forth to distribute the relish. Then the old women [who know the reason] will persuade the man, saying, "Go out to the man with the lots to consult them" [to see what is to be done]. When he goes off (on this errand) some other man is called in, and he